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and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

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423 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of
567 British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question
648 to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by
423 the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then
427 prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-
648 lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

1st to the holder of the farm,
2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,
3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by
423 the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had
427 availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

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to be added; so that the profits are about 20 per cent. The farms produce also oranges, vegetables and coffee, free of tax on plots of Báné-land less than ten acres, which add to the income of the proprietor; but on the other hand, as all the members of the family live under the same roof and subsist on the produce of the same farm, there is little real profit left. However light the assessment of the Jamma-ryots may appear to be, the changes effected in the general administration of the country and the imposition of various taxes have greatly modified the relative value of this tenure. The establishment of a number of departments, the officers of which with their subordinates are frequently on the move, imposes—almost of necessity—services on the Jamma-ryots for the performance of which formerly their slaves were used and which consequently now the masters with their crude notions of free trade very unwillingly perform. Of the Coorgs, whose pride as a martial race has always been fostered by Government, it can hardly be expected, that they should readily carry the camp-loads, etc. of the public functionaries, and the exigencies of the Sirkar, in this respect, might perhaps be fulfilled without too much wounding the self-respect of the Coorgs. Many Jamma-ryots, it is said, are on the point of resigning their Jamma—with the intention of holding their land on Ságu-tenure and thus escaping these vexatious services!

In 1869-70 the revenue from Jamma-lands amounted to Rs. 50,893—9—9.

The next holding is called *Ságu-tenure* (from the Canarese ságu, to be under cultivation) and should be considered as the *normal assessment*, all others being exceptional. The tenants pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties land-tax, are not bound by their tenure to render feudal service to the State and may claim remission of assessment for those fields of their farms, which they are unable to cultivate. It is estimated, that of their total produce the Government demand amounts to 14

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[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Coorg see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, p. 350.]